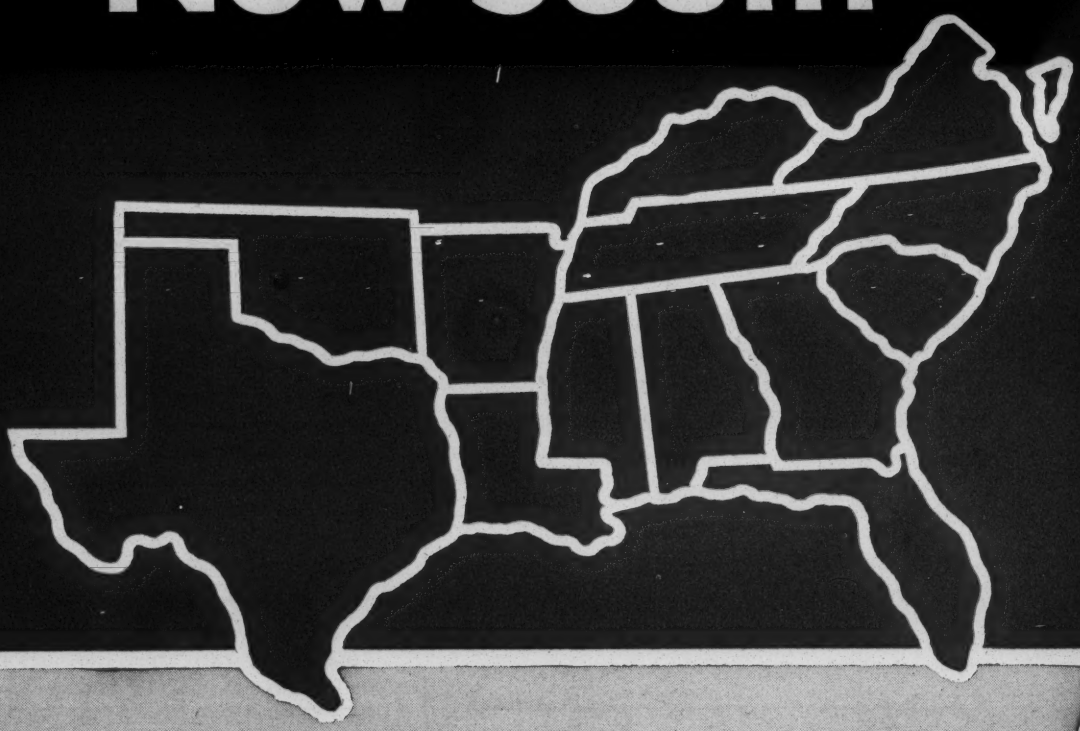
New South



- **The Race Dilemma**
  Harry S. Ashmore
- **Law and Order**
- **Problem for Entire Country**
- **Practice of Principles**
- **Our Responsibility**

DECEMBER 1957

New South

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

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DECEMBER, 1957

Volume 12 **Number 12**

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Subscription rate . . . . . $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt

New South Notes

Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*, in a speech before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith prior to the crisis in Little Rock, gave his views of the dilemma of the South as well as the rest of the nation. Mr. Ashmore believes the dilemma is very real but he also thinks the resolution is certain. In the reprint of his speech, the Little Rock editor tells why he thinks so.

Last month, *New South* reprinted a manifesto by 80 ministers setting forth principles involved in race relations. In this issue, *New South* reprints three such statements, all in keeping with the Atlanta manifesto. The resolutions include statements from the Birmingham Council on Human Relations, the Department of Social Welfare of the United Christian Missionary Society, and one from 173 ministers in the Greater Houston (Texas) area. These resolutions are all involved with the responsibility of citizens in the South today.

New South also reprints an editorial from the *Presbyterian Outlook* concerning the Atlanta manifesto.

New South reviews, this month, a recent pamphlet by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. The pamphlet, entitled *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, is especially recommended for those parents interested in the welfare of their communities. The pamphlet, which sells for $1.00, delves into the psychological causes and results of segregation and gives concrete suggestions for solving such problems.

All in all, *New South* presents a good package of material for the responsible person interested in better community relations.

The Race Dilemma*

By Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor,
Arkansas Gazette

The dictionary defines "dilemma" thus: "An argument presenting an antagonist with two or more alternatives, but equally conclusive against him whichever he chooses." And it offers this secondary definition: "situation involving choice between equally unsatisfactory alternatives."

To some degree, every American has felt the thrust of the horns. In a philosophical sense, the problem of accommodating our Negro minority has always been, as Gunnar Myrdal termed it, an American dilemma. Now, in the wake of the great redistribution of the Negro population in a single generation, every major American community must face it in practical terms.

The horns are sharpest, however, for the South — still the home of the majority of American Negroes, and the only region whose social structure has been largely shaped by their presence. To the South, the "unsatisfactory alternatives" appear to have been clearly drawn by the steady development of a public policy which now forbids legal segregation in any activity prescribed by law or sustained by public funds. Most Southerners see them thus: to comply with the requirements of the Supreme Court at the cost of severe dislocation of the existing social order; or to defy the National government at the cost of disrupting the judicial process, calling down the moral condemnation of non-Southerners, incurring political penalties, and handicapping the late-blooming economic development of the region.

The Southern view appears vastly oversimplified; this estimate of the alternatives before the region is emotional rather than rational. It remains, however, the prevailing view and therefore the reality with which any consideration of the dilemma in race relations must begin.

The issue is emotional—on both sides. This was so when the debate was couched in terms of human slavery; it is not less so now that we argue over second-class citizenship.

*Speech to Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Race Dilemma

(Continued)

In the march of generations, the condition of the American Negro has been steadily improved—in recent years by his own efforts, and earlier by the assistance of sympathetic whites. He has been the principal figure in a great moral crusade that has run through all our history, a crusade that had its roots in that part of the nation where, until recent years, the Negro did not live. But he has also received sympathy and support in his long struggle from those who have always been his neighbors—the Southern whites.

Ironically, it is in part these advances — economic and political — that complicated the American Negro's existence today. His sights are higher, his demands are greater, and his patience has grown thin. But his forward progress has not yet significantly altered the basic attitude of the American white. The late Howard Odum, the great student of the Southern region, once undertook what he called a sort of hidden poll of the great mass of Southern folk and found at the heart of the Southern credo this central theme: "The Negro is a Negro and nothing more." And Odum added in his last formal advice to his people: "It was of the utmost importance that Southerners face the plain assumption that they did not appraise the Negro as the same sort of human being they themselves are."

This, then, is the first truth in the dilemma of race relations. But there is another of equal importance — the fact that in its overall implications the Southern white attitude toward he Negro is not substantially different from the prevailing American white attitude. Southerners translated their viewpoint into the legal barriers of segregation, which are now being systematically struck down. Non-Southerners did not, in most cases, but, faced with a rising tide of Negro immigration, they have erected extra-legal barriers that have attained the same end. With only rare exceptions, Negroes everywhere in the United States live in segregated communities; the lines in Chicago, for example, are if anything more sharply drawn than they are in Atlanta.

Tradition

The tradition in the South is different. The practice, however, is not now significantly different from that which prevails in all the great cities where Negroes have arrived in late years to take their place in the ghettos vacated by earlier generations of immigrants. So it is with the prevailing white attitude toward this "visible minority." The dilemma, then, may be reduced to this summary statement which applies with equal force in every community where Negroes have congregated in considerable number: The American white is not yet ready to accept the Negro as his equal, and the American Negro is no longer willing to accept anything less.

These are the polar attitudes, and there is a great range between them among the members of both races. Yet, they are the attitudes that have colored the current conflict — the attitudes to which the advocates on either side give angry voice. Much of the Southern po-

litical leadership remains formally committed to working out a pattern of race relations within the old "separate but equal" concept, despite its rejection by the Supreme Court. The new, militant Negro leadership as a matter of principle opposes segregation in any form — legal or extra-legal, voluntary or enforced — as a mark of inferiority.

The immediate conflict centers now in the sensitive area of public education, but its implications go far beyond the classrooms. We are, in fact, called upon by the new public policy to reorder our society in many important ways. Put another way, we are called upon to make changes in the patterns of our everyday life that the great majority of white Americans are reluctant to undertake.

Does this mean that the evolving pattern of desegregation by law is bound to fail? I do not think so. On the basis of all the evidence, I think, rather, that it is bound to succeed. Powerful forces are working to preserve segregation, but in every significant test for the last twenty years the forces working against segregation have proved stronger.

Public Policy

It is not unusual to find the declared public policy in conflict with the public attitude in this area. It has always been so. Public policy forbade the mistreatment of bondsmen in the era of slavery but did not effectively protect them; the Plessy doctrine called for equal public facilities in the days when separation was legal, but discrimination prevailed. Bringing practice into conformity with policy is one of the ultimate tests of democracy, which must protect the declared rights of the minority while it is bound by the will of the majority.

These polar attitudes which I have described do not preclude compromise — they demand it. The white citizens of Louisville have accepted the principle of integration in their public schools and have begun the transition on a limited scale. The attitude of the white citizens of Louisville has not changed; they still do not regard the Negro as their equal. But, under the pressure of the law and the prodding of a few wise men, they have accepted the necessity of granting him a greater measure of equality of opportunity.

Opportunity

This, I think, is the essential distinction. Frequently, we are trapped by the catch-phrases that have had long currency in this great debate — the terms that carry with them emotional overtones of the old moral argument. Equality of person is not a fact of American life and never has been. Equality of opportunity is the goal. The concept is negative rather than positive; what we seek to guarantee our children is not a certain place in society, but a clear field on which no child will be especially handicapped by his race or religion.

This, surely, was the concept embodied in the Supreme Court decision in the public-school cases. Yet, it has been obscured by two false notions widely and stubbornly held — one on each side of the central controversy. One is the belief that any association between whites and Negroes beyond

that of master and servant inevitably leads to intermingling of the races. The other is the belief that any separation of the races is inherently discriminatory and therefore morally wrong.

Even cursory reading of the record should dispel both notions. The only widespread intermingling of the races occurred in the days of the Negro's enforced degradation; it has declined almost to the vanishing point with the general social improvement of the minority race.

So it is with the notion that segregation has always been discrimination. In historical perspective, the separate--but-equal doctrine may be seen as a necessary bridge in the transition from slavery to citizenship. If it denied the Negro certain rights granted to whites, it also guaranteed him certain privileges and immunities at a time when he was not equipped to compete on an equal footing with his white neighbors. The gross abuses and the calculated exploitation that were cloaked by legal segregation are an essential part of the record. They were and are indefensible — and because of this they provided the cutting edge that has removed the legal underpinning of segregation. But noblesse oblige was part of the system, too — the recognized obligation of the strong to protect the weak — and this, too, is disappearing in the transition that is now well under way.

Both these deeply-held ideas will survive for the foreseeable future. They will provide the rallying point for those who, in Ralph McGill's phrase, are now engaged in guerilla fighting among the ruins of the old segregated society. They will continue for some years to shape political decisions and social customs. Yet, already an increasing number of Southerners are groping for new accommodations — not because the old attitudes are necessarily changing, but because they are beginning to understand that the shifting racial pattern is only a part of the great change that is sweeping over the region — and by no means the most important part.

Peculiar Institutions

Legal separation was only one of the three peculiar institutions that set the Southern region apart through most of its history. The other two were the one-crop agrarian economy — made possible by the slave, and necessary by his emancipation — and the one-party political system, brought into being as a means of disfranchising the freedmen. All three of these institutions are so closely interrelated as to be virtually one, and none can survive the other. Thus, the Southern leaders who are working, with marked success, to industrialize the region are undermining the system of segregation many of them so passionately defend.

The pattern of change is not even, nor is it likely to be. I have myself come periously close to being trapped by one of the oversimplifications I have been deploring. There is not one South, but many souths — each significantly different in the racial composition of its population and in its tradition. Segregation in education is already a dead letter in more than half the states that

required it prior to the Supreme Court decision in the public-school cases. This trend will continue, I believe, in the upland countries of the Southern states proper — the counties where the Negro population is sparse and the practice of segregation has never been buttressed by unyielding social sanction. In the Deep South, there is not yet any perceptible break.

Yet, a closer look at the general scene shows signs of significant change everywhere. First of all, the physical violence which many hotspurs predicted and many sober Southerners feared has not developed except in isolated cases. The most extreme actions of the new Citizens' Councils fall far short of the outright reign of terror undertaken by the Ku Klux Klan a generation ago. There have been shocking examples of denial of such basic civil rights as the franchise, yet even in the Deep South the participation of Negroes in the 1956 election was the greatest in history. (Most observers give the Negro voters credit for cracking the solid Democratic front in such states as Louisiana and Tennessee.)

Population Change

In the meantime, the great out-migration of Negroes from the South continues, literally changing the complexion of the region year by year. Every Southern city has grown steadily whiter in recent years — while every major non-Southern city has witnessed a sharp and continuing increase in the proportion of its Negro population. If I had to cite the single most significant fact in American race relations today, I would say that it is the fact that the city of Chicago today contains more Negroes than the entire Confederate state of Arkansas — and that this vast change has taken place in a single generation that saw millions of Negroes not only change their places of residence but their way of life, exchanging the values of their agrarian background for those of an urban people.

Vertical Migration

Inside the South and out of it, the Negro has come by a long and tortuous road to the point reached before him by previous generations of immigrants. He is set apart as were the Jews, the Poles and the Irish before him — huddled into the worst housing, assigned to the most menial jobs, beset by his own inferior background. He is still in his time of horizontal migration from farm to city, and from south to north. But his vertical migration is beginning, and it will accelerate; he, too, will break out of his ghettos and gain greater acceptance as his improved opportunities enable him to earn it.

In many ways, his problems are special. The walls of prejudice are perhaps harder to scale than those that confronted any of the other minorities who found their place in this conglomerate nation of ours. But time is working on his side, and the law — and the moral force which has made him a burden on every white American's conscience throughout our national history.

The dilemma is real. The horns are sharp. But its resolution is at least as certain as the survival of the democratic concept in a nation which has never attained its goal — but has never considered abandoning it.

Law and Order Must Prevail

Greater Birmingham

Council on Human Relations

The recent racial violence in our community is cause for grave concern on the part of responsible citizens and organizations of Birmingham and throughout the state.

In the mutilation of a Negro man, the chain beating of a Negro minister and the stabbing of his wife we have seen private groups virtually set themselves up as arresting officer, judge and jury meteing out their sentences of punishment on the spot in disregard of the established procedures of law. In much the same manner groups of adults and closely coached students exercised their "right of free assembly" to form disorderly mobs in front of two of our schools threatening Negro pedestrians and hurling objects at those in passing vehicles.

These are but the latest highlights of a series of incidents which, when considered comprehensively, constitute a serious threat to human rights far more basic than any racial theories. A trend of "segregation by intimidation" is clearly evolving under which almost anything is condoned in the name of "the preservation of our way of life."

The small white majority who have participated in these activities should pause and consider the implications and ultimate ends of their efforts. Violence and the threat of violence can never be justified as a method of supporting anything in a democracy based upon law, be it segregation, integration or other cause, and the continuing conspiracy to commit such in organized fashion goes beyond simple crime verging upon sedition. The exercise of police powers must remain in properly constituted hands and used to halt this trend of intimidation before it becomes unmanageable. To do otherwise is to leave the rights and safety of all citizens in jeopardy.

Our state, county and city law enforcement and legal authorities are to be commended for their efforts to cope with this difficult situation and encouraged to greater lengths in impartial and effective enforcement of every law applicable. Someone has stated "the assurance of the triumph of evil is for good men to be silent." Democracy decays when citizens default in their responsibilities. Spiritual vitality fades when the demands of conscience go unanswered. We appeal to thinking white and Negro citizens along with civic and business groups to openly avow support of decency and law. We plead with clergymen, ministerial associations and church bodies of both races to consider ways of actively fulfilling the crying needs of reconciliation and understanding in love.

We the members of the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations acknowledge our own guilt of silence and apathy, but now come forth offering to arrange negotiations and attempt mediation now or at any time in the future between any groups in our community which sincerely seek a peaceful and equitable solution to our racial problems. We hold no illusions that by such methods the basic issues will be resolved but we firmly believe that many of the by-products of misunderstanding, rumors and tensions can be lessened through the clarification of grievances, desires and intentions in a spirit of mutual concern. We earnestly encourage such groups to communicate with us through P.O. Box 9054, Birmingham, Ala.

The Ministers Manifesto*

Some people have been surprised that the stalwart statement issued by 80 white ministers of Atlanta should have been received so calmly in that city. In other localities far milder words have produced greater reactions.

It is quite possible that one of the major explanations of the result is to be found in the Atlanta newspapers and their influence over the city. They have prepared the way for such a statement and they have supported it.

In Richmond, Virginia, for instance, a similar statement appeared a year earlier. In some respects it was stronger and more pointed than the Atlanta declaration but that cannot explain the far different reception it received. The Richmond papers met it head-on, opposing, undermining, seeking to discredit it in a counter-attack. In fact, they have done the same thing in regard to the Atlanta statement—poking holes in it, trying to show-up a bunch of impractical and visionary parsons who don't know enough to come in out of the rain. It is part of a larger strategy, refusing to admit the possibility of any respectable, wise or intelligent people—anybody of real standing—favored such a course.

The Atlanta ministers did well and they are to be commended. But so, also, are the Atlanta papers.

*Editorial in Presbyterian Outlook

Segregation Is Problem For the Entire Country

Review of Psychological Study

PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York. 95 pp., $1.00.

"A social revolution with profound implications for domestic accord and world leadership confronts this country today.

"The problem involves the dramatic legal and social adjustments facing the South as a result of the Supreme Court decision that public school racial segregation laws are unconstitutional.

"However, the tensions that have arisen in the region underscore the fact that the problem has national dimensions. And they show that the problem must be resolved in terms of the actions, attitudes and behavior of the entire country."

This quote, from an article in the *New York Times* by John N. Popham, forms the introduction of an intensive study into the psychological aspect of the desegregation struggle.

The pamphlet, *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, represents the observations and findings of more than 250 psychiatrists and social scientists. The group's recommendations "are designed to assist in working out the knotty inter-racial problems affecting desegregation."

The group documents the Supreme Court's contention that segregation in fact does impair the psychological growth of children and demonstrates how this "way of life" also causes psychological damage to the communities in which it is practiced. Among the so-

cial ills that segregation breeds, the group contends, are high disease and death rates, some types of crime and delinquency, poor housing, substandard living, and disorganized family life. The psychiatrists note that these social ills are not confined to the segregated population but inevitably lower the level of the entire community in which segregation is practiced.

As for the nation as a whole, the group asserts that "the existence of segregation as an unsolved conflict leads to a chronic state of tension." The psychiatrists add that "the consequent ill feeling and disunity drain off energies that might otherwise be applied to more constructive activities, both at home and abroad."

In the second portion of the pamphlet, the group discusses, under one broad heading, the functions of racial myths and prejudices. Myths as a defense, effect on Negro-white relationships, fears related to sex, and interracial unions-marital and extramarital are discussed here.

This section also is concerned with changing attitudes. Some sub-topics include aspects of attitude change, effect of group processes on attitudes, and the role of authority in changing attitudes and behavior.

Under a final heading, the psychiatrists discuss the responses of various groups to desegregation. Here the group discusses children, educators, and the parents separately and the roles each play in the desegregation process. The group not only discusses problems which confront each group but give clear, workable answers to some of the knotty questions involved.

Following the summary and discussion, the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry has included a comprehensive bibliography for further reading in this field which should prove extremely helpful to anyone interested in the desegregation problems.

These recommendations are designed primarily for public officials, school administrators, teachers, and parent-teacher organizations, but they offer sound advice to anyone interested in making his or her community a better place in which to live.

". . . The segregation issue can affect the economic life of a community. . . . We can have a good economy only where everybody is working together. Even though knowledge is important, we need wisdom and along with wisdom, we need understanding. We must learn to respect differences and to develop the capacity to listen."—Dr. Leonard P. Aries of New York, director of the National Commission on Labor Management under the National Conference of Christians and Jews, in a speech to the Asheville, N. C., Civitan Club. Quote from the *Asheville Citizen*.

Practice of Principles Is A Must For Churches

Social Welfare Department
United Christian Missionary Society

Almost universally major Christian bodies, both Catholic and Protestant have spoken in essential agreement upon the problem of racial integration. We agree upon the sinfulness of racial discrimination and forced segregation both within the church and in society as a whole. Churches, however, are now faced with the fact that their responsibility is one of moving from *principles* to *practice* within their own local situations. The following concrete suggestions as to procedure represent the direction in which our brotherhood should move:

1. Local churches should make unmistakably clear the witness of their individual congregations as to the inclusive nature of their fellowships: For some this may mean the employment of a multi-racial staff; for others it may mean an active evangelism program among persons of 'other' races; for still others it may mean public announcement from pulpit or in advertising, "We welcome all people," and for still others it may mean long study and painful experimentation as they seek to fulfill the teachings of Christ under the leading of the Holy Spirit.

2. Churches should seek to embody an active ministry of reconciliation by bringing together under Christian auspices persons of various racial background, that they may discover their mutual hopes and faith and humanity; that they may plan, mutually, the ways to eliminate racial barriers in church and community.

3. The congregation should make clear that they can neither condone nor support any activities of individuals, groups or organizations that initiate or perpetuate racial discrimination or tend to incite communities to violence, hatred and lawlessness.

4. Administrative officials and boards of trustees of brotherhood organizations and agencies should review at the earliest possible time their own policies and practices with a view to bringing them in line with stated brotherhood conviction regarding racial integration.

5. Local congregations should cooperate with one another in making surveys of their local communities regarding discrimination in housing and the use of public facilities.

Our Responsibility To Bear Witness

173 Ministers
of
Greater Houston

We, the undersigned ministers of religion in Greater Houston, believe that it is our responsibility to bear witness in the face of serious issues which now confront our community. We speak for ourselves only.

The Supreme Court has ruled on an issue which affects our public schools and the sacred American concept of the basic dignity and worth of every individual. The local enforcement of this decision is under the jurisdiction of our Federal Courts. While we do not believe in the infallibility of our courts, we do firmly believe that our courts are one of the bulwarks of our society. We believe it to be the duty of every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all decisions.

We further believe that for an individual or group to defy decisions with which they are not in agreement is to encourage other dangerous elements in our society to follow the same destructive procedures for their own needs. This can only lead to anarchy in which the rights of none are respected.

Unfortunate and tragic events which have transpired elsewhere recently must not happen here!

We call upon all the people of our community to join us in prayer. Let us seek the spirit of God in meeting these issues. Let us pray for patience and understanding and for a determined good will between all of us.

May God's mercy and grace direct us.

Signed:

Bishop John E. Hines, Bishop W. J. Nold, Bishop A. Frank Smith, Msgr. J. Cassata, Charles L. King, K. O. White, Hyman Judah Schachtel, W. Kenneth Pope, John Knowles, Robert I. Kahn. L. J. Adam, W. Darwin Andrus, James Andrews, William A. Baine, J. T. Barnett, Thomas I. Beck, Harvey D.

Responsibility

(Continued)

Beckendorf, Earl M. Bengtson, Edwin de F. Bennett, Earl R. Boone, John A. Bosman, J. H. M. Boyce, George C. Bradford, the Rev. E. S. Branch, James A. Brannen, Robert Theron Browne, William F. Bull, Robert H. Bullock.

The Rev. A. L. Cawthon, R. G. Commander, W. B. Condrey, the Rev. J. D. Connolly, David F. Conrad, L. M. Correu, John D. Craig, James A. Crain, Thomas W. Currie, Myers B. Curtis, M. J. Daly, Skardon D'Aubert, Bishop C. Davis, M. M. Davis.

Robert A. Dennert, J. Walter Dickson, Norman E. Dizer, Alfred M. Dorsett, Forest E. Dudley, the Rev. W. H. Dudley, C. H. Durden, the Rev. Edwin Eagin, Milton Falkenberg, the Rev. O. F. Fauss, L. B. Felder, Durwood Fleming, the Rev. Elston L. Flohr, Homer T. Fort.

Joe W. Fort, Alfred H. Freeman, Thomas F. Freeman, Dewey Fuller, Jr., James T. Farrett, Rabbi Max Geller, E. G. Gerhart, J. M. Gordon, A. Grady Hallonquist, Presley E. Hand, W. M. Harrell, William M. Harris, E. Stafford Harrison, Robert E. Hayes.

E. N. Holmes, Howard Hoyde, Alfred W. Jarvis, C. D. Johnson, Sam F. Jones, Andrew A. Jumper, the Rev. G. E. Kalpaxis, Tucker Kay, Edwin E. Keiper, Charles R. Kelly, C. J. Key, Arthur S. Knapp.

Eugene Labovitz, Robert L. Latham, Charles Leicht, M. L. Lewis, Haskin V. Little, Byron L. Lovelady, Virgil Lowder, B. H. Lucas, Owen McGarity, Jr., K. Sherwood McKee, R. B. McLaren, Clayton McMahill, M. Ewing McPhail, William S. Malev, J. B. Malvey, OP.

Ralph E. Marsden, Jr., Sam J. Martin, William L. Martin, Herbert A. Miller, H. C. Mayhew, W. Edward Mitchell, Claxton Monroe, Richard B. Moon, Jr., T. Walter Moore, J. Kelly Neal, James R. Nold, R. D. Nolen.

R. R. Northcutt, Ferris W. Norton, Jr., M. C. Notzon, A. Novak, the Rev. Fred O'Connor, Gerald T. O'Keefe, C. O. Overstreet, Joe M. Owen, Louis Pabot, Richard Page, Karl M. Parker, S. George Parrigin, John E. Parse, Glenn E. Parson, the Rev. A. D. Phelps, the Rev. C. L. Punch.

P. A. Pittman, George Reck, Garland Reeves, Marion F. Reynolds, John Rhodes, the Rev. G. R. Wheatcroft, Dean J. Milton Richardson, Lewis Risinger, Msgr. John Roach, R. Howard Robinson, the Rev. James V. Roth, MM, Fred T. Schumucker, Calvin Schumacher, Herbert Schwarze.

H. O. Scott, Paul T. Seastrand, Edwin P. Shaw, Jr., Charlie W. Shedd, James R. Shelton, C. R. Simpson, LeRoy S. Smith, Denver H. Smoot, Louis A. Snowdy, John C. Solomon, R. M. Spangler, Claude Spearman, the Rev. J. P. Sullivan, Thomas W. Sumners, R. C. Terry, Phylemon Titus, R. H. Tharp.

The Rev. H. J. Tullis, F. D. Urbanowsky, William L. Van Auken, Frank R. Wagner, Harold Walker, Jr., E. H. Westmoreland, J. Turner Whaley, Walter Whitson, James E. Wilkerson, J. H. Williams, Herbert A. Wilke, W. D. Williams, the Rev. Isaac S. Wright, James R. Wright, J. Bryant Young, and Ernest H. Zavisch.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

". . . The Till case, the Alabama University incident, the current Tuskegee question, to name a few, and of course the Little Rock episode, as well as the treatment of the Ghana Minister of Finance, prove very embarrassing when one is called upon to explain them while trying to put across to a group of friends why the United States is a land of democracy. No one expects the United States to be perfect, but you must remember we are black men, Africans, and always very sensitive in areas where the black man or any descendant of the African race is not allowed to enjoy his liberty with the rest of his fellow citizens."

Elechukwu N. Njaka
Degema, E. R. Nigeria
Christian Science Monitor

• • •

"The greatest danger to public education in the South today is that the current uproar over the segregation issue may deflect attention from the continuing needs of the public schools. But it is probable that the Southern people, essentially committed to the democratic credo of public education, will eventually find that they have sufficient moral and economic resources to weather the crisis and will continue to develop their schools toward the ultimate goal of public education—equal opportunity for all."

George B. Tindall,
Assistant Professor of History,
Louisiana State University,
from an article in CURRENT HISTORY

"There cannot be one law for the South and another for the remainder of the nation. What is constitutional in California is likewise constitutional in South Carolina. Our Constitution makes it clear that the states are prohibited, as states, from imposing any sort of racial restrictions upon those of its citizens who, as citizens of the United States of America, are thus constitutionally entitled to equal and identical rights with all other citizens."

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary,
NAACP
in a speech to Commwealth Club of
California

• • •

"The Board of Directors is certainly charged with the responsibility for maintaining law and order. We have no choice but to maintain order around that School (Central High School in Little Rock) and everywhere else."

Werner C. Knoop, Honorary Mayor,
City Council
Little Rock, Arkansas,
quoted in ARKANSAS GAZETTE

• • •

"In terms of the Christian perspective, it is our desire that we may be of service to the state and local agencies in working within law and order toward the fulfillment of the requirements of that decision (the Supreme Court school decision.)."

Tennessee Council of Churches
quoted in THE RELIGIOUS NEWSWEEKLY